000 Brother—Brat. Applied to all cousins within the bratstvo in ordinary conversation. "Born brother" or "brother by my mother" added to explain real brother.

Sister—Sestra.

A woman's husband's brother is her Djever.

A woman's husband's sister is her Zaova.

A woman's sister is her husband's Svast.

A woman's brother is her husband's Shura. The Shura's wife is Shurnjaja.

The wives of two or more brothers are each other's Jetrva.

A woman's father is her husband's Test.

A man's father is his wife's Svekar.

A man's mother is his wife's Svekrva.

A woman's mother is her husband's Punitza.

Nephew (brother's child) is Bratanatz or Sinovatz, or Bratuched.

Nephew (sister's child) is Sestritch.

A man's sister's husband is his Svak.

A man's brother's wife is his Snaha.

A daughter of the house married into another tribe is called Odiva.

A cousin on the father's side to almost any degree, Rodjak or Bratsvenik.

When first plunged into a peasant family one finds these numerous names most complicated.

RELATIONSHIPS IN NORTH ALBANIA

Mother's Side.

601 Mother—Am. But familiarly and commonly Nané.

Uncle (mother's brother)—Daje, or Vla i Nanes.

Aunt (mother's sister)—Dajeshe, or Teze.

Daughter—E bija. Often Vaiza eme (my maiden).

Sister—Moter.

Wife—Shoké (lit., companion). Sometimes Fat, my fate.

Bride or fiancée or newly married woman—Nusé.

Mother-in-law—Vjehera.

The in-law family collectively—Vjeherii.

Daughter-in-law—Ree.

Godmother—Nriku, or Nuné.

Cousin on mother's side. This seemed hardly to be considered a relation. Marko denied that his mother's sister's daughter was his "cousin," but said if she had been his father's sister's child she would have been his Kushrina. The dictionaries give "kushrina" without mentioning on which side the family. There seems to be no special word for "cousin" on female side.

Female head of the household—E zoja shpis.

Father's Side.

Father—Bab. (This is the word commonly used. When speaking of the father of the family, Ati fmjevet would be used. Ati is used when speaking of God the Father, e.g. Ati i pustueshem, the Eternal Father.)

Grandfather (father's father)—Gyushi.

Great-grandfather—Katragjushi.

Brother—Vlla.

Brethren collectively—Vllaznii.

Relationships and Blood Customs

Uncle (father's brother)—Adsh: this is a Turkish word, but is in common use. There is another word, which is Albanian: "Mighe," also "unghe," but "adsh" is commonly used. 601

Aunt (father's sister)—Hallé.
Nephew (brother's or sister's son)—Nipi, collectively Nipnii.
Niece (brother's or sister's daughter)—Meaé.
Son—I biri.
Brother-in-law—Konati.
Son-in-law—Dhaner. Also used for bridegroom and fiancé.
Sister-in-law—Kunata.
Cousin—Kushrin.
Female cousin—Kushrina.
Husband—Shok, i.e. companion; or Bur, i.e. man.
Father-in-law—Vjeher.
Godfather, sponsor—Kumar. Godfather of baptism—Kumar i pakzimit. [608]
Godfather of haircutting—Kumar i floksh.
Tribe—Fis.
Relations collectively—Dzinije.

Vlaznija, lit. brethren. A large family group within the tribe like the Montenegrin bratstvo.
Mehala—a Turkish word used for a group of related houses, i.e. a Vlaznija.
Shpi—House and house community.
Krue—Head of a Vlaznija or Mehala.
Plak—Old man. Hence an elder—member, that is, of a tribal council. [623]
Zoti i shpis—Lord of the house.
Bairaktar—Standard-bearer. Head of Fis (Turkish word).

2. Blood-brotherhood

"But the flesh with the life thereof which is the blood thereof shall ye not eat" (Gen. ix. 4). 608
"For it is the life of all flesh; the blood of it is for the life thereof" (Lev. xvii. 14). 174

He who ate the blood would take within him the life of the beast—would become, in fact, partly beast. It follows naturally that he who eats the blood of man establishes kinship with him whose life he thus shares. Blood-brotherhood is a very old and widespread custom. "Whenever the Scythians," says Herodotus (Bk. IV, lxx), "form alliances a large earthen vessel is filled with wine; into this is poured some of the blood of the contracting parties . . . in this cup they dip some arrows, a hatchet, and a spear. After some solemn praying the parties who form the contract . . . finally drink the contents of the bowl."

From the lands lying north-east of the Balkans came down neighbours of the Scythians, the Pechinegs and the Comans, and the Bulgars. The Comans, says B. H. Minns (*v. Scythians and Greeks*), were a

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

592 to its own safety disappeared, and with it the need for several generations to huddle together under one roof if they wished to survive. Consequently, immense households like that of Gjon Macaj disappeared.

In the families of the landed gentry of Dibër such as Cen Elezi, life followed rather different lines. Most of the young men went into government or army service and left their wives and children at home, visiting them when they obtained leave, and the farm work was done by hired servants with the help and under the supervision of any of the family who might have remained at home. The women were organized on the customary pattern, with some variation in detail. A housekeeper cooked, but only for the women and children, since a special chef was required to cope with the hospitable requirements of the *selamlik*.[1] Each young wife attended to her own room and children besides cleaning her husband's boots and helping him to dress when he was at home. No one was required to work outside, but each must in turn wash up after meals for a week at a time. The daughters of such families were often less fortunate in their lives than the daughters-in-law. For want of suitors of their father's standing they must often be given to men of lower rank and then they worked both in and out of doors as if born and bred in a poor family.

Every house containing two or more married men included a corresponding number of family units. Each of these looked on its own members as we should do—as father, mother, son, daughter, brother and sister—but in its attitude to the other units diverged [601] from our practice. To us the oldest men may be brothers or cousins; to Albanians they were all 'brothers', irrespective of whether one father had begotten them or not. In the next generation instead of first cousins and in the third, second cousins, Albanians saw only 'brothers' and 'sisters' in both. The middle generation of Albanians regarded all its elders as 'uncle' or 'aunt' (though in some, particularly in Moslem, cases distinguishing between the paternal and maternal lines) and all its juniors as 'nephew' or 'niece'. It was only when some need to particularize arose that they defined the relationship according to the blood tie as 'father's brother', 'father's brother's wife', 'brother's son', 'cousin' or the like.

593 Not only did a man who was seen much in his wife's company lose face, but in a communal household his brothers, in addition to

[1] See p. 21.

1 [i.e., the men's apartment]